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suits, and so forth, can operate in large measure independently of other households on the reservation. Unmarried sons come under the jurisdiction of their father in all economic activities. While the daughters and the mother are ultimately under the authority of the father as well, the mother enjoys a good deal of independence in the management of the household, the gardens, the barnyard animals, fruit trees, and the like. Indeed, a woman is expected to manage the household smoothly without the husband needing to concern himself with details. And in the domestic sphere the daughters are immediately responsible to their mother.

Sex and age largely determine the allocation of agricultural and domestic responsibilities within the family group. There is cooperation among the members in many matters, and the chores performed by one person complement those of others. The family is a tightly integrated group, especially during the years when children are below the nubile age and parental authority is strongest. As the children grow older, divisive factors might arise within the family, traceable to scarce land and general economic impoverishment and the fear of many parents that their sons and daughters will neglect them in their old age.

The family is integrated in terms of superordination and subordination, with lines of authority running from the father or household head to the other members. When the children are very young, much of the parental authority is shunted through the mother, the father occupying an essentially executive position. The mother is in direct and sustained contact with the children, and her daughters continue to remain under her control until they marry.

Relative age among siblings is important in their relationships and reflects the pattern of superordination and subordination which characterizes the relationship between the father and the other family members. Relative age is given expression in kinship terminology within any classificatory group.

If there is an appreciable difference in age between the oldest son and his brothers, he is usually delegated considerable authority and responsibility by the father. If, as is sometimes the case, there is a gap of ten or more years between brothers, and the elder remains in his father's house, the companionability and unity of interest which tend otherwise to characterize the sibling group are much altered, especially if the father is not in full vigor. The senior brother then may be the work organizer and decision maker, and he will stand to

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inherit the father's animals and holdings, which he may dispose of according to his own judgment. A female who is much older than the rest of her sisters takes over most of the mother's duties and tends to oversee domestic activities. She might be referred to as *ñaña*, a term suggesting this special status in the family.

Within the family the central figure is the father, and after his death his authoritarian role as organizer of family activities can only be approximated by either his widow or his eldest son, the two usually sharing a position of family authority. The way this is worked out in any family depends for the most part on the age and capabilities of the widow with respect to her children. Her sons and daughters tend to treat her deferentially, and if she is active and industrious she may assume much of her husband's role as organizer of family activities, although she will deliberate with her grown children in a way not characteristic of the father. Widows tend to gain more persuasive powers than men as they become older. Unlike aging men, they do not actually cede powers to their maturing sons and daughters. The widow's position changes considerably when her daughters marry and leave the reservation. She again performs most of the household duties, even if there is a younger daughter still in residence, and this involves ordering her sons' activities to a large extent. The mother's authority, however, rests on the tender relationship between herself and her children, and part of her mechanism of control is continual complaint—disapproval about how things are being managed by her sons and daughters. Her wishes are most often complied with, even though the children realize she is exploiting the relationship to gain the upper hand in the household. They sometimes rationalize this as her "old-fashioned ways."

Certain functions traditionally performed by the family are in the process of being taken over by other institutions, such as schools, and these changes are related intimately to the changing economic structure with its cash-credit operations favoring more productive agricultural activities. The Mapuche is in competition with other Mapuche and with Chilean society. Education of the younger generation has deprived the parental group of a measure of its former authority. Respect for parental judgment is diminishing in certain spheres, and it is not uncommon to hear complaints that parents are "behind the times." Once respect is lost, the father either tends to listen to the views of his son by renewing and maintaining the association, or else such pressure is exerted upon the son that he leaves the parental

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754 power and the confirmation of success condition the activities of a *kalku*.

Most of those persons thought to be *kalku* are described as old women, or middle-aged women. I am unclear as to what is supposed to happen to the young girls pressed into service, unless it takes many years for them to develop their powers or, at least, develop them sufficiently to practice homicidal sorcery. I knew of no young sorcerers having a clientele. This was never explained to my satisfaction, except for the indication that a witch must mature before she can deal successfully with the forces of evil. The younger women occasionally whispered about in connection with sorcery were never described as powerful, professional *kalku*. Rather than dealing in death, they dealt in love potions to secure mates for designing men and women, in undermining the favor of certain co-wives (in the compound or *lofche*), and in other sorts of petty and malicious acts far short of serious illness and death. These young women seem never to have charged for their services.

754 888 Old women are especially suspect (although infrequently among themselves). They are thought to be envious of the young, and there is some evidence that they are. They have had long experience with magic and are felt to harbor general hostility toward people around them. Old men are not so judged; nor are women with pleasant dispositions. The women with the most pleasing dispositions are usually those living in the most favorable circumstances, those with husbands or children to care for them, those able to invite guests to their house, and to play a respectable, matronly role in community activities. The old woman who lives alone, who nags her son or brother to support her, who complains volubly if they do not, who mutters to herself while going about the countryside for no apparently good reason, who might well have been near the scene of some misfortune—an old woman of this sort is generally suspected of being adept in the black art. This is even more widely the opinion if she is an in-married crone who has survived her husband and many of her children. But no one is entirely free from suspicion, at least not on all occasions.

754 776 According to Mapuche definition, a professional *kalku* is any person who controls one or more evil spirits, most generally a